1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field. In the Hsin Hsing village area, most of the farmers grow the native *tsai lai* rice because it best withstands the weather, disease, and insects.

Within each major type of rice there are also sub-types, each of which has a slightly different growing season. A farmer may plant different types or sub-types in different plots, so that he will not have to plant and harvest all his rice fields at the same time.

The entire rice-growing operation is performed by hand labor. The farmer germinates his best rice from an earlier crop and then broadcasts it in a small, muddy, well-fertilized seedbed. While the seedlings grow—a period of thirty to fifty days for the first crop and fifteen to twenty days for the second—the paddy field is prepared for the transfer of the seedlings. The field is prepared in several operations; a water buffalo draws a wooden plow with a steel blade of adjustable depth and two different kinds of harrows. The preparation of one *chia* (= 2.39 acres) of land takes about seven days for one water buffalo and one laborer. Since many villagers do not own a buffalo (and even a landlord usually does not own one since he would not do his own heavy work), the animal and its owner—usually a fellow villager—must be hired to do the fieldwork. In 1958, the cost of hiring a water buffalo and a laborer was about NT $60–70 per day.

After the rice paddy is flooded the seedlings are removed from the seedbed by hand and transferred in rows by a small group of hired specialists. Such a man can transplant about 0.15 *chia* (0.36 acres) of land in one day. In 1958 he was paid over NT $20 a day, and at night he was given a large dinner, wine, and cigarettes. In the Hsin Hsing area this is considered a fairly high wage for a day's work. On the day the rice seedlings are transplanted, the wives of many farmers go to the village Earth God Temple to worship and pray for a good crop. Such food as whole fish, meat, and fowl are sacrificed and later served to the laborers.

Three times during the growing season the rice paddies are allowed to become relatively dry, to make weeding possible. This is done by the farmer's family or by hired village women who receive about NT $6 per day and no food. Also, during the growing period (about eighty-five to one hundred days after transplanting for the first crop, but a shorter time for the second), the fields are fertilized twice and sprayed with insecticide if necessary.

Rice harvesting is done by men and women in groups of ten; they are either hired or exchange labor. Usually a group of all men is preferred. Such a group can harvest an average of a little over 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) per day. The amount of land harvested depends upon the distance of the field from the house, and thus the distance the rice must be carried after threshing.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

The pay scale for the members of the labor groups varies annually with the price of rice. The exact rate paid by the small landholders of Hsin Hsing usually follows that paid by large landlords. The wages may either be paid individually to each member of the labor crew or else paid in a lump sum to the group according to the amount of land harvested. In the former system the men are paid from NT $22 to NT $25 per day, the women about NT $10 per day. Where payment is based on amount of land harvested, the lump sum to the group is divided equally among the men after they have paid the wages of any women among them. The latter wage system is more commonly used in the second rice crop of the year and the individual payment method usually for the first rice crop, since it is larger than the second and requires more work.

In Hsin Hsing there are about fifteen families which hire labor groups simply because they have no labor to exchange. This is usually the case when the head of the household is working in Taipei or is an older man. Others who hire laborers rather than exchange labor are somewhat wealthier people who can afford to pay in cash rather than in their own labor to get their land harvested.

A pure exchange labor group usually is more of an ideal than an actuality. Such a group is composed preferably of ten persons for rice harvesting. Ideally, they must be ten people who all cultivate approximately the same amount of rice paddy; thus, they can move from one piece of land to another until all their land is harvested, without having to calculate the labor hours devoted to each individual's land. If the need for a quick harvest is urgent, as it sometimes is in the first rice crop, the group decides which land to harvest first by inspecting each member's crop to determine which is the ripest, and it then proceeds in that order. If there is good reason to hurry the harvesting of the first crop, the farmers prefer not to rely on exchange labor, but hire a labor team. Therefore, there is less labor exchanged in the first crop than in the second.

This type of exchange labor harvesting group is not often found in Hsin Hsing, simply because it is not easy to find ten people with approximately the same amount of land to harvest. But there are some such groups in Hsin Hsing made up of individuals such as *tsu* members, neighbors, or sworn brothers who are intimate. The people in such a group, because of their relationship, are not concerned if some people in the group have more land to harvest than others. There is, for example, in Hsin Hsing a group consisting of several households with the same family name who are all descended from the same grandfather; they all live in apartments in the same large house and form a pure exchange labor group. These families for the most part have very good relations and enough men to exchange labor in this

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

241 464 476 [618] way. While the men and boys of these households do the actual harvesting, the women work together to dry the rice in the courtyard, keeping each family's rice separate.

Probably the most common kind of labor group in Hsin Hsing and the area is a mixed group of ten people, some hired and others exchange laborers. Such a group is composed mainly of people who cultivate different amounts of rice land and usually includes some who are the equivalent of hired laborers and cultivate no rice land at all. [618] Such groups generally have no fixed membership, though it is common for the same group of men, often *tsu* relatives or friends, to form the core of the group and to include additional villagers each year to complete the team. Preferably, these additional farmers till at least a moderate amount of rice land. Farmers with a very small amount of land usually hire laborers, as do those with such large amounts of rice land that it takes too long to exchange labor.

241 476 464 465 Because of the composition of this mixed labor group a special system of accounting has been worked out which is based on the knowledge that the team will harvest more of some members' land than others and probably no land at all for a few. The group therefore manages itself almost like a hired labor group. When the group harvests the land of one of its members, the owner pays into the group's fund wages for each member based on the amount of land harvested. The owner of the land harvested furnishes all the food to the group just as if it were a hired team. When all the land of its members has been harvested, all the money which has been paid is equally divided. Once this is done, if there is still a demand for farm labor, the group may decide to hire out as a labor team; if some of the members do not care to hire out they are replaced at random.

241 464 476 The farmer attempts to plan the harvest so that it can be completed in one day, since he must supply food for the laborers. If necessary, the labor team may be increased by one or two members, either by hiring a few additional people or by recruiting members of the farmer's own family to help.

There are also some special cases of exchange labor in Hsin Hsing village. One farmer does field labor in exchange for free medical service for the family from the local doctor, one of the former large landlords of the village. In this case there is no way to calculate the equivalence of the services exchanged, but the families of the two men have been very close for many years, and they appear to be satisfied with the arrangement.

464 476 There are also instances of exchange labor between villagers who have some special work to be done, such as building a house. Although the labor exchanged may not be for the same kind of job, the men simply calculate the exchange on the basis of a day of work for a day of

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

work. Sometimes, however, a man who is building an addition to his house may just hire a few village men during the agricultural slack season and pay them a fixed wage for the day's work, about NT $15–20 a day.

Today only a few villagers grow sugarcane. The period of harvesting for cane varies according to the time of planting, but usually it comes during what is normally a slack farm season. The sugar company, which contracts with the farmer to have him grow sugarcane on his land, regularly sends specialists to the fields to determine when the sugarcane is at its peak of readiness for harvesting. Usually, a field planted in sugarcane is relatively large, and may require a group of as many as thirty or forty people to harvest just under one *chia* of land. The group is generally hired from one of the very large villages in the area that is populous enough to supply the entire team. This labor team works as a single group of men, women, and young people, which is broken up into smaller crews according to function, such as cutting the cane, gathering it and tying it in bundles, or putting it on the oxcarts which take it to the railway line for shipment to the sugar company factory. The whole group is paid a lump sum for division among the members and is fed only refreshments in the field, not a whole meal. Hsin Hsing villagers are very seldom members of a sugar-harvesting labor gang.

THE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION: AN "EXTERNAL" FORCE

The Farmers' Association has been important in the Taiwanese rural area since Japanese times. Under the Japanese regime the local farmers owned stocks or shares in the local district associations, and Hsin Hsing villagers feel that the association was run partly by the Japanese government and partly by the farmers. In those days the government attempted to introduce new farm techniques and crops to the farmers through the association.

Today, the work of the local district Farmers' Association has become more important than ever. The Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association has several large buildings which are used for offices, meeting rooms, classrooms, and warehouses for the storage of rice and farm equipment. The provincial Food Bureau lends some financial support to the association for the building of the warehouses where the large amounts of grain collected from the farmers as tax are stored for the bureau by the association. Almost all the villagers who cultivate land and are therefore classed primarily as farmers belong to the Farmers' Association. In order to become a member, the farmer must purchase at least one share of association stock at a price of NT $5, a low fee which virtually guarantees that all farmers will become members. On

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

the basis of the profits of the Farmers' Association, dividends in the form of towels, soap, or tea sets are regularly given to members.

The members of each village unit of the Farmers' Association elect a "small unit head" who is the Farmers' Association's agent in the village. It is his job to distribute association literature and to notify the members of meetings and classes. It is also his job to record the amount of land for which each farmer wishes to obtain fertilizer from the Food Bureau through the auspices of the Farmers' Association in exchange for rice. Although the unit head used to receive NT $50 a month to cover his expenses, in 1958 the arrangement was changed so that now he receives only the actual office supplies necessary for his job. In each village in Pu Yen Hsiang, the unit head is given a radio by the Farmers' Association for his use as long as he holds the position. He also regularly receives a newspaper, which is an organ of the provincial government, and *Harvest Magazine*.

The members in each village elect one representative for every fifty members to the association's governing body. These representatives in turn elect a supervisor, who then appoints the General Secretary who actually runs the *hsiang* Farmers' Association. The General Secretary is the highest paid employee of the organization and is in charge of the many other paid employees. The main duty of the representatives is to attend the annual meeting of representatives to vote on the yearly program and budget which has been worked out by the General Secretary and his staff.

Today, most of the villagers and employees of the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association feel that the local units are relatively independent. However, there are Farmers' Associations on the *hsien* and provincial level which are supposed to "teach" and to lead the operation of the local organizations. The local units in turn pay fees to the higher level units. In addition, there is a section in both the *hsien* and provincial government's agricultural departments which deals with farmers' organizations and supervises the operations of the Farmers' Associations. Thus, there is control of the operations of the local Farmers' Associations by these three higher levels. The monthly program, budget, and proposed special programs of the local associations are first discussed in local committee, and then the proposals and budget are sent to the Hsien Farmers' Association for suggestions and to the government agency for approval, changes, or rejection.

Both farmers and staff members of the association generally seem to agree that such guidance and supervision by upper levels of the government is a good thing. It is felt that the supervision of the *hsien* government is grounded in the law and assures the farmer that the programs and large amounts of money handled by the Farmers' Association will be properly administered. However, since the organiza-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

PREGNANCY AND BIRTH

843 The villagers believe that pregnancy lasts ten lunar months and is signalled by the initial interruption of the menstrual cycle. It is rare [759] for a village woman to see a doctor at all during her pregnancy. The villagers consider it unnecessary and say that only the rich people go to a doctor. Even though there is a government-run health center in the [743] *Hsiang* which offers some pre-natal care, modesty prevents village women from visiting the clinic although the excuse they give is that they do not have the time.

The expectant mother receives no special care during pregnancy; she eats no special foods and goes about her household and field tasks as usual. The women fear that if they eat special foods the baby may get too big and that the delivery will be difficult and dangerous. They [292] wear no special maternity clothes, but wear either larger and fuller skirts or leave the top buttons of their regular skirts open. During the last month of pregnancy and the first month and a half after the birth, the parents abstain from sexual intercourse. This, the villagers explain, is for the protection of the mother's health.

844 Today, most village women employ a midwife at the birth of their 759 first child. Midwives first began to be used about twenty years ago, but 178 "then it was only rich people." The regular use of a midwife by ordinary villagers has been common only since the postwar period or the late 1940's. It is interesting that one of the important advantages of having a midwife, according to a group of village women, is that "If [217] we call a midwife, it is easier to register the baby in the Hsiang Public Office since the midwife will then write out the certificate of birth. Otherwise a birth certificate must be obtained through the village mayor."

Previously, the older women of the family delivered all babies. Today, these same women may be present to assist the midwife at the time a first child is born, and they usually assist in the delivery of subsequent children when a midwife has not been called. The husband is not present when his wife gives birth.

844 The midwife who works at the Pu Yen Hsiang Health Center is 759 usually called to Hsin Hsing village. She has been trained by attend- • 465 ing several classes for midwives. "She charges NT $30–40 [about US $1] for a normal delivery, or more if she has to give an injection to stop excessive bleeding." The midwife makes two house visits, one at the time of the birth and the second when she washes the baby on the third day after the birth. When the child is born, the midwife applies [757] a silver nitrate solution to the eyes only if it appears that there might be something wrong.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

881 574 612 [462] Many *ch'in ch'i*, friends from outside the village and some fellow villagers are invited to share the food and drink which were offered to the gods. For the most part the *ch'in tsu* and other villagers who are present are there primarily to help serve and entertain the guests from outside. Women, who never serve food at village festivals, work in the kitchen, helping to prepare the food for the male chefs.

882 At sixteen a boy is, in theory, considered an adult, ready to take on adult responsibilities. Although he does have some new responsibilities and privileges, he is nevertheless not really considered an adult until he becomes a father and may frequently not be treated as an adult until he is himself the head of a household. However, at sixteen there are certain changes in social status for the boy. He may, for example, now represent his father and his family at village meetings, voting for his father if the occasion should arise and even speaking for his family. In addition, it is considered proper for the head of a household to leave his sixteen-year-old son to act as host and entertain the family's houseguests.

882 883 593 [626] A boy of sixteen is considered old enough to leave home by himself to work in the city. Although there are boys under sixteen working in Taipei, their parents are quick to point out that their fathers are there to watch over them. It would be considered highly irregular for a village family to allow a younger boy to be in the city unsupervised. Villagers are always concerned about possible criticisms of the way they bring up their children. If something should happen to an unsupervised boy in the city or if he should get into trouble, people immediately say that the parents are at fault because they neglected their duty and did not take proper care of their son. Therefore, the social recognition of a boy as an adult at age sixteen in a sense protects his parents from criticism and alleviates their pangs of conscience should something happen to the older boy who is away from home alone.

883 882 [868] 743 [465] As boys move into their mid-teens they begin to take on added responsibilities in the economic life of the family. More and more of their labor and their earnings, if any, are contributed to the family treasury. At about eighteen the boy begins to do many of the field chores. At this time he also may hire out as a field laborer, receiving a man's wages. Sometimes a fellow villager may teach him how to transplant rice seedlings, for which training the boy receives meals but very little financial remuneration. Once he has learned this skill, however, the boy can hire out as a laborer at NT $20 to $25 per day.

883 Although the boy now begins to take on many responsibilities, he still spends a great deal of time playing with his friends. Village boys in their late teens and early twenties form small groups and spend much time together telling stories, going into town, and generally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

581 their daughters' economic and social position will be improved by
584 marriage or that their son will marry a girl with a large dowry. One reason the villagers give for not attempting to arrange marriages within their own village is that "after all, everyone in one's own village knows exactly how poor you really are."

584 It is only after the amount and kind of engagement gifts and dowry
583 have been settled through the matchmaker's negotiations that the marriage agreement is considered definite. These gifts are, then, "like a marriage contract." The engagement gifts the boy's family sends to the girl and her family may consist of cash, a common figure being about NT $2,000, plus cloth and jewelry for the girl. When these gifts arrive, her family sends back gifts of gold, clothing (a belt, purse, and so on) and sometimes some cash. At the wedding the girl's family may return most of the gifts to the husband's family in her dowry of furniture, clothing, and even cash. However, as the villagers point out, "Usually in a marriage, all gifts considered, it costs the boy's side more than the girl's. If the boy sends gifts of cash, much of it will come back from the girl's side since her family will use the engagement money to furnish the dowry. If the girl's dowry includes a radio or bicycle, [554] however, then her family might spend more." A family's reputation may be enhanced or lowered by the worth of the engagement gifts or dowry it provides. In the unusual case that the girl's dowry is smaller than the boy's side expected, his family may treat their new daughter-in-law badly, thus adversely affecting relations between the two families. When the arrangements for a marriage are completed, both
584 families send money to the matchmaker. Usually, the groom's family
465 sends twice as much as the bride's. The matchmaker is also remembered on the occasion of the birth of the couple's first son, when the couple sends her fried glutinous rice to thank her for arranging their marriage.

585 Several months at least separate the official engagement from the wedding, for which preparations are quite elaborate. Formal invita-
[203] tions are sent out by the boy's family to those *ch'in ch'i* and friends in the area who have already sent gifts to commemorate the occasion. "To send invitations to anyone else would be like asking for money, and that would be embarrassing," say the villagers. The invitations are delivered personally by members of the boy's family, *tsu*, or close family friends in the village. The groom's house is decorated with red streamers, wall and door hangings, and scrolls bearing lucky sayings and good wishes for the occasion. Lengths of cloth with money and messages of good wishes pasted on them are sent by friends and relatives and are put up on the walls of the ancestral-worship room. If the [618] groom's family is a member of a *tsu*, the *tsu's* main ancestral-worship room is used for this purpose as well as for the ritual, even if the family has its own private room.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

hsiang Public Office and obtain permission to bury the body in the public cemetery. (Burial in private fields has not been permitted since early in the Japanese period.)

Relatives, including *ch'in tsu*, married daughters, and *ch'in ch'i*, are notified of the death and asked to come to the home of the deceased. Relatives in distant places are notified by means of telegram, special-delivery express letter, or telephone. If their relationship to the deceased was a close one, they too are asked to come to the village. Relatives who live nearby are usually notified of the death by messengers, such as a younger member of the deceased's family or some *ch'in tsu*, friend, or neighbor.

While they are still on the road approaching the village relatives begin to wail, and as they enter the village they fall to their knees and crawl to the house and into the room where the body lies. Someone who was present at the time of the death may crawl out to meet and welcome these relatives and then crawl into the room with them. *Ch'in tsu* relatives and married daughters are expected to wail and crawl both to show their respect for the deceased and to express their sorrow for not being present at the death. The villagers consider it unfilial to be absent when a parent or *ch'in tsu* relative who is older or of a higher generation dies. Many villagers look on and may criticize the arrivals for not wailing loud enough or for not getting down on their hands and knees to crawl soon enough. One may also hear old village women note how filial someone is because of the distance she crawls or the way she wails.

Preparation for the Funeral and Burial

Immediately after the death, arrangements are made for five *tao shih* to come to the village from Lukang to officiate at the funeral. A village funeral may be delayed because the *tao shih* are participating in a funeral elsewhere and are not available immediately. Usually, five *tao shih* form a group and work together with a small orchestra of three or four men who normally accompany them to the ceremony. The group of about eight men usually charges approximately NT $380 (US $10.50).

It is very rare that a Buddhist funeral is held in Hin Hsing or other villages of the area. While most of the villagers worship Buddha and Kuan Yin along with the Taoist hierarchy of gods, they are not Buddhists, and the one such funeral held in recent years was for the old mother of the largest landlord family in the village. This woman was a Buddhist, and while she was still alive had Buddhist nuns come to the village to pray for her.

Virtually all village families willingly assist in the funeral preparations. Most village families are members of one of several "Father-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

764 532 869 rewards for filial and moral behavior and the retribution for unfilial and immoral acts. It seems likely that these gruesome pictures of the punishments and tortures, as well as those which show the forms of reincarnation, make lasting impressions on the young children. In fact, throughout the funeral ceremony there are a variety of opportunities for instructing the young people and children in the moral and filial forms of behavior.

764 [793] [795] There are usually two parts to the actual funeral ceremonial. One is the ritual conducted by the five *tao shih*, in which they pray for and safely guide the spirit of the dead person through the underworld to the Western Paradise (*hsi fang lo yuan*). The second part is the actual burial ritual. Adjuncts to the first part of the funeral ritual are entertainment performed for the spirit of the deceased and a ceremony to send the spirit on its way. These can be and are performed in either order, and it is not infrequent for the ceremony sending off the spirit to be held after the burial—sometimes as much as a week later. The 764 length of time devoted to these rituals depends on the availability of 556 the *tao shih* and the financial circumstances of the family of the deceased. A prosperous family (like that of a landlord) which is willing to spend a great deal of money on an elaborate ceremony usually takes several days or even a week or more to complete the ceremony. During the entire period many guests are housed and fed, as is expected of such a family. A poor family, on the other hand, may complete the entire ceremony in one day and one night, ending the next morning with the burial. This short form of funeral is the most common in the village.

764 793 In the Hsin Hsin area, the funeral sequence usually begins with the *tao shih* beating on drums and shooting off firecrackers in order to "frighten away bad spirits." This is done in the courtyard, and both adults and children hide inside the house so they will not be "hit by [come into contact with] a bad spirit." During the first phase of the ritual, the *tao shih*, often accompanied by musicians, chant and pray [292] for the deceased. They wear colorful hats and robes decorated with [531] designs such as the eight trigrams (*pa kua*). They change their robes as they move to successive parts of the ritual. A member of the family is present throughout the rituals, taking part by kneeling behind the *tao shih* and burning incense. This role is assumed by the chief mourner, usually the eldest son, although another member of the family may substitute for him as a representative for the entire family.

764 795 524 526 [465] The chanting and prayers of the *tao shih* are interrupted in the late afternoon when entertainment is provided for the spirit of the deceased. The performance of the juggler or acrobat is traditionally paid for by the married daughters of the deceased. Generally, the charge for such entertainment is NT $180 (US $5). This entertainment is held

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

793 two, or even three full days at a time when a funeral or some other ceremony must be performed. It would, of course, be impossible for a farmer to engage in activities which might call him away from the harvest or other such imperative activity. Furthermore, most farmers lack the modicum of literacy necessary for the performance of certain ceremonies.

The *tao shih* in Lukang received their training from older members of the priesthood. These men do not belong to an organized church, for there is none in Lukang. In fact, the priesthood itself is loosely organized and informal, although all its members in the area do wear a special signet ring. A man who wishes to become a *tao shih* declares his intention to an established priest and, with the latter's permission, joins his group as a novice. He is given instruction in the various ceremonies and learns how to use the special ritual instruments. As his training progresses, he accompanies other members of the group on their trips into the countryside and assists as they perform ceremonies. Eventually, he either becomes a member of the group in which he received his training or conducts ceremonies as a independent priest.

756 There are three *fa shih* and three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing village serving it and neighboring villages. Actually, these men seldom perform outside the village, and shamans from other villages are occasionally called into Hsin Hsing by people who were not helped by their village shaman or who, for personal reasons, prefer a shaman from another place. This is especially true in the case of a nonresident *fa shih*, an older man, who is considered more powerful than the ones in Hsin Hsing. However, such cases are infrequent, and most people find their own village shaman sufficiently able to meet their needs.

756 Too, most villagers find it economically advantageous to engage the services of a local shaman rather than an outsider. When the *fa shih* or *t'iao t'ung* is a fellow villager, one is not expected to pay him any fee 465 for his services, but need only feed him after he performs. The food is usually a simple noodle dish or rice and meat soup. Although it is prepared in large quantities in order to feed all the villagers who were present during the shaman's ritual, the cost to the host is small. But when a shaman is called from outside, he must be paid a fee in addition to being fed with the other participants. The money is normally wrapped in a packet of red paper and handed to the shaman. The villagers usually know how much they are expected to pay, and both parties assume that the amount will be adequate. If the family does not give the shaman enough money, the villagers note that "the shaman probably will say nothing, but will not return should he be called."

Most families make every effort to compensate the shaman amply

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

and are just as anxious to satisfy their village shaman. The family feels some debt of gratitude when he performs a ritual for them without payment. In some cases they even feel obliged to repay him in some way and may be unusually cooperative when he needs assistance. They may help him with some minor work in his fields, or may patronize the store which is owned by one *t'iao t'ung*, or buy meat from the intinerant butcher, also a local *t'iao t'ung*.

Thus, a shaman does receive certain indirect compensation for his work in his own village, but since there is so little opportunity for actual or direct financial recompense, one wonders what moves a man to take up such an occupation. In the cases of the *fa shih* and *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing and neighboring villages, the motivation clearly is not any mental or physical abnormality. These men are male members of the community without observable afflictions who only in their performance as shamans become anything out of the ordinary. At all other times they function in what appears to be a perfectly normal manner.

However, the shamans of Hsin Hsing do seem to share one trait which is less evident in their fellow villagers. They all are somewhat aggressive men seeking to raise their status and prestige in the village. Apparently, the greatest inducement for them to become shamans was the opportunity the occupation presented for gaining position and recognition. Since the status of a villager depends at least in part upon his rendering public service to his village and area, every time a shaman performs he receives recognition for his contribution.

The most frequently employed *fa shih* in Hsin Hsing is a rather intelligent man presently attempting to accumulate some land, who recently built a small building in which he grows mushrooms. He seems to be trying very hard to raise his status in the village, and in his active role of *fa shih* he manages to keep in the public eye. The villagers feel that he gives a great deal of his time for the village and for his fellows. The two other *fa shih* in the village are older men who for various reasons are called upon only to perform certain functions. One of them is frequently away from the village, since he works in Taipei.

The three *t'iao t'ung* in Hsin Hsing are men who are not exclusively engaged in farming. The *t'iao t'ung* for the village god Ta Shih Kung, a butcher who peddles meat on a bicycle and does some farming on a small piece of land, is a minor partner in a butchering company located in a village about two miles from Hsin Hsing. Unfortunately, this man has been ill a great deal, and since he has frequently not been available when the villagers wished to communicate with the god, his services are not often employed. In his stead the villagers call the *t'iao t'ung* for the important private god, Er Shih Kung, who

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

husband is considerably older than she, which is not particularly unusual, and he seems blessed with no more sense or responsibility than his wife. He has worked in the gardens of American military and embassy families on occasion, but now that the early days of gross overpayment are finished, he is resentful of the wages he is paid (usually about twice what any Chinese would consider paying). He never has a steady job and makes little effort in that direction, but when he does find something that pays well, the family lives high. I overheard the following conversation between Lim Chui-ieng and Tan A-hong about their mutual relative when they found out that Mui-mue's husband had found a profitable job.

A-hong: "He has already made over NT$3,000 and now they have set him to planting trees at the flour mill in Tapu. He is getting paid ten dollars a tree! But, neither of them think of paying back the money they owe. They just buy new clothes, and more food than a family twice their size could eat, and Mui-mue gambles every day."

Lim Chui-ieng: "I never could do the way she does. She only thinks about borrowing the money and never about the next time she may need to borrow. Every time you ask them to pay you back, they say they will pay you as soon as they get some money. It's only her mouth that says this though, it never gets into her head."

A-hong: "That's right. We always worry when we owe people money, but those two! The husband and wife are just the same! A-bok has seen him come home several times with a big basket of peaches. I would never dare buy peaches."

Lim Chui-ieng: "My children don't even know what a peach tastes like."

A-hong: "Mui-mue doesn't understand anything at all about *cue lang* [obligations to people]. Like that time when her son was so sick and they didn't have enough money to take the child to a doctor. My daughter gave her some rings to pawn, but instead she took them around to different people and borrowed money from them all. When Chun-ieng found out about it, she had to go around and pay all the people. Mui-mue never did pay Chun-ieng the money. If she understood about *cue lang*, she would always be grateful to my Chun-ieng because her child would be dead now if it weren't for her. Instead, she doesn't even pay her back the money."

The two women continued discussing Iu Mui-mue's various strategies for obtaining money, Lim Chui-ieng admitting that even she had

243 hand is in bunches of 4 to 7 rice seedlings, 6 to 7 inches
462 apart with one large bunch placed in a corner of the field for use in a second transplanting to replace thinned-out spots in the field. Men are expected to be able to maintain the rows and spacing without the wooden guides needed by women. A woman occasionally transplants rice in her
[463] own family fields but it is comparatively rare for women
[465] to be hired for transplanting. When a woman is hired for transplanting or harvesting, she earns a regular women's wage (discussed later) but does receive the previously
[857] mentioned five-meal bonus. A young boy is a normal part of each transplanting crew with the responsibility of running errands, bringing food and water, and supplying the men with seedlings.

243 There are normally two weedings and occasionally a third; the first is 20-25 days after transplanting and the second and third, 10-15 days after a previous weeding.
242 Chemical fertilizer is applied before weeding. Weeding is
243 performed on hands and knees. Once more, women seldom
[462] participate in rice-field activities outside their own
[474] family fields and that too is infrequent. There may be an occasional second application of fertilizer which is available from the farmers' association for cash or for rice. It is slightly cheaper in town for cash but no credit facilities are available. The fields will be sprayed with insecticide once or twice.

245 although occasionally men may help. Only women harvest
462 tea and a man who harvested would be a source of much amusement. Even boys, although they do some work normally
• 465 performed by women, never harvest tea. Harvesting is
245 compensated on a piece-work basis, $5.00 for each 4 chin of tea leaves. The best girl could pick close to 30 chin in a day but this would be a day of hard work from early
[562] morning to late evening. Since a man's normal wage for weeding is $50.00 and a woman's is $30.00, any man picking tea on a piece-work basis would earn closer to $30.00 than $50.00 and would thusly, be considered to be working for woman's wages.

465 There now seems to be something sacrosanct about
562 the $50.00 wage for an experienced man. Good and poor workers both get the same $50.00 for a day's labor, but the best workers are able to obtain work more frequently. Women, for other than piecework, get $30.00 per day but this rate is subject to some bargaining. A couple of skilled village women earn as much as $35.00 or $40.00 per
465 day for some tasks. Boys earn less than women receiving
561 little increments of increase as they mature until reaching women's wages and slightly beyond. There are seldom any increments between $35.00 and $50.00, the latter step achieved in a sudden single jump when a boy becomes a
[281] fully-fledged man. There is no clear-cut life cycle event to mark this stage which is not directly related to

• 465 chronological age and varies with the physiological matur-
561 ity of the individual and his ability to demand this level
[884] of respect from village men. However, it is hard for a young man to get much work for although he must be paid an experienced man's wage, he lacks both experience and reputation.

245 After tea leaves are picked, they are spread out in
463 large shallow round bamboo baskets to dry and then sold to one of the five tea processors in Talei Li, seldom to outsiders. Three processors operate in Sanlei and two in Erhlei although one of the Sanlei processors is now quite inactive, only processing tea grown in his own fields.
[477] Competition between processors is quite fierce but not on a price basis. Relations are built up between processor and farmer and tend to last a long time (see Chapter VI).
245 Tea processing is primarily a man's task. Different kinds
[462] of tea are produced dependent on the amount or lack of fermentation, the types of leaves, and the additives: green, red (black), and jasmine and in two or three grades each. The hard part of the work is maintaining the fires as the leaves are roasted in large metal tins. After
[462] roasting, the leaves are placed back in the drying baskets
[887] for sorting, another task for women, but in this case, old woman. The work is tedious but not hard and can be learned
[465] with a half-hour's instruction. On a piece-work basis, an old woman can easily earn $20.00 to $25.00 per day.

245 462 perform a majority of the weeding. For a day's weeding, 245 a man earns $50.00 and a woman, $30.00 but a man does not • 465 462 appear to pull two-thirds more weeds in a day than a woman although that is the wage differential. Both men and women work on their own fields, but if someone is hired to weed, it is now likely to be a female or a boy who 245 earns wages equal to the women's level. Harvesting is 462 neither heavy nor hard, and because it is compensated at piece-work rates, neither sex yet seems to be favored. Once again, marketing and dealing with the cooperative [464] is strictly for men. Harvesting oranges takes place when the tea harvesting is at its slackest period and therefore, introduction of citrus orchards has made it possible for Talei women to earn income during the entire year.

Miscellaneous Cash Crops

433 There are currently no other important commercial 245 food crops grown in Sanlei Ts'un. During our study, two of the most progressive farmers in the village, brothers in a divided household previously introduced in connection with the plot of land which was lost during the land reform program, made their first try with 600 banana trees. Returns have been good for two other villages about three miles away. The younger brother's son was sent to observe methods in one of the two villages at the farm of a ch'in ch'i (affinal relative) and the family

313 [443] [311] [435] are so low a yard is ready to buy more wood.

A great deal of the mountain land is devoted to wood, especially many of the steeper slopes. The contiguousness of the village to the city of Taipei helps make the wood valuable for its relatively low price per unit of volume would soon consume any long-distance transportation cost.

313 [482] Wood bundles are heavy and usually, given the long distance to the forests, must be carried by hand down the mountains to the roadside or village. Wood for sale is [462] usually carried by men on a piece-work basis with the rate adjusted according to the distance to be traveled. The [465] rate is such that it is difficult to earn the $50.00 level of men's regular wages without a dawn to dusk effort but $40.00 to $45.00 can usually be achieved in the regular 8-1/2 hour day and this is higher than regular women's wages.

462 In agreement with the principle that females are responsible for the kitchen, a woman carried most of the wood used for cooking in her own home. Men may carry wood for their wives on the way home from some other task, but if a special trip must be made for wood to be used in the kitchen, it is expected that a woman will make it.

316 Non-Agricultural Employment

The major means by which Talei Li men earn a living outside farming is in the coal mines which have been

316 commercially important in the area for over fifty years.
316 Prior to World War II, the mines employed only full-time
178 miners but due to the labor shortage during the war, some
433 villagers were added on a part and/or full-time basis.
The most recent period is witness to a rapid expansion of industrialization on Taiwan and a consequent increased demand for Taiwan's coal. Coal production in 1965 was 5,034,463 metric tons, the highest in the history of Tai-
[464] wan (China Yearbook, 1966-7:302). Satisfying the demand for coal has created serious labor shortages which are being overcome by retired Mainland soldiers, migrants from labor-surplus areas, and villagers on a full-time or part-time basis.

316 Some miners live in dormitories near the mines, but others, including all villagers, commute daily. Most mine work is compensated on a piece-work basis. Mines usually operate on shifts for a six-day week. Men may work individually but most often, unite into small permanent work
316 teams which share output equally. Income varies according
465 to the skill, energy, and the richness of a particular vein but the latter factor levels out over time. The average wage is about $80.00 per day with some men consistently earning $100.00. Few men earn less than $70.00 on a regular basis, a rate which is considerably higher than farming wages.

463 I never observed any major job without at least one hired
191 expert although on two occasions, there were more householders than experts on a single job: when the mayor and his son helped one expert replaster a mudbrick house; and when Liao Chin-ping (one of the village miners), his younger brother, and his son helped two roofers put a new tile roof on his house.

The job of laborer in construction was open to everyone, even women, although in the United States, laborers are also unionized and restricted in the building trades. The most common kind of "do-it-yourself" activity seen in the village was for the householder to act as a laborer for his hired craftsman. Other jobs which were open to everyone included farming and work in the factory or a commercial establishment. Almost every family in the village was engaged in some farming and most women, at least, grew vegetables. Even when a man had a full-time job, he usually farmed part-time, sometimes as a laborer, but more often as an owner-operator or tenant.

There were four men with trades who regularly lived
[322] in Sanlei village. Two were carpenters, one full-time and
[465] the other part-time. In the village area, a carpenter earns $65.00 per day, higher than the skilled farm-worker wage of $50.00 although not as high as carpenter wages in
[335] the city of Taipei. The third man with a trade was the
[305] barber who charged $5.00 for a haircut, shampoo, and shave.

305 He was born in Sanlei, served a three-year apprenticeship in Taipei, worked in Taipei an additional four years and then returned to the village to establish his own shop. He claims that he earns less in the village but that his expenses are also less and that it is much more interesting to live in the village where he has many friends and rela-
463 tives. Finally, one man is a mason who performs most of
333 his work building elaborate tombs for a geomancer from Taipei.

463 The mid-wife is the only village woman who has a
759 position the equivalent of a trade or profession. She is teaching a younger woman as her future replacement in the same manner in which she learned her skills but she has recently been required to attend an in-service training program at the clinic in Hsin Tien.

464 Another possible way to earn money is to work in
369 the city and live in the village by commuting daily. Five
[465] men are regular commuters although four of the five are also part-time farmers: two work in a metal plating factory near Taipei earning over $2.000.00 per month; one is a part owner of a bicycle sales and service shop in Hsin Tien; one works as a janitor at National Taiwan University in Taipei; and the last drives a truck for a Taipei fac-
493 tory. Men with the higher-paying jobs ride the bus and
494 with the lower-paying jobs, their bicycles, but because the bus service between the village and Hsin Tien is so

493 infrequent, the bicycle adds little time to commuting.
494 The longest ride by bicycle taken regularly for work is about seventy minutes.

894 Two young men are serving apprenticeships by commuting daily to Taipei. In the past, apprentices usually lived with the master who fed and clothed them and provided a very small allowance as they learned a trade. The [465] current approach is towards treating the apprenticeship as a regular job with regular hours but low pay of only $300.00 per month so that the situation is, in effect, one in which the apprentice is giving up part of his normal wages as a tuition fee. Three Sanlei village boys are "living in" apprentices and since they are registered in the city and sleeping there regularly, they were not counted in the Sanlei population. However, they do return to the village regularly for festivals and merely to visit relatives and friends.

464 562 There are more opportunities for females than males to commute because of the current operating policies of the many clothing factories in the area around Taipei which require large amounts of relatively unskilled light labor. Young women easily fill the jobs and can find employment much more easily than boys. The factories regularly send recruiting teams to the village, announcing the date by posting red handbills all over the area two weeks previously. All the factory girls in Talei who commute work

464 for one of three factories but many girls go off to work
562 in other factories which provide supervised dormitory accommodations including food.

464 At one factory which is within a 45 minute bicycle
466 ride distance, a group of girls from Talei Li work by commuting daily. In the morning, two girls start out from Szulei, pick up two more girls in Sanlei and several in both Erhlei and T'oulei and then go on together in a group of li girls only. The other two factories each send a truck to the village in the morning to pick up a total of five Sanlei girls and bring them home each night.

The other way to work in the clothing factories is to live in factory-provided dormitories. These live-in girls also do not fit the definition of village resident employed in this paper but nevertheless, eleven former Sanlei village girls are living in factory dormitories. On the average, a girl usually commutes for a period of time before moving from the village to a factory dormitory.

464 The availability of factory work has had a signifi-
562 cant impact on the status of females in the village for girls are thereby, direct economic assets. The starting
562 wage of $300.00 per month ($13.00 per day) can be increased
465 with experience to over $1,200.00 per month for a skilled girl in six or seven years, but most experienced girls earn about $800.00 after five years. Young girls can

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
• 465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

for work and some men became coal miners. There has been some withdrawal of women from agricultural activities resulting from the fact that as women died or retired, they were not replaced by the young women who, as previously stated, are going into the factories. The ultimate effect of the clog business on the village was to increase the importance of female labor and consequently, raise women's status.

Division of Labor

The division of labor based on age and sex is a cultural universal (Linton, 1936; Murdock, 1957). It has been portrayed in previous sections that Sanlei village is no exception to this general principle for some jobs are solely for men, mining, driving, and plowing, and others, heavy work, harvesting rice, transplanting, and construction are primarily for men; some jobs are solely for women, tea picking, midwifery, clothes washing, and others, cooking, tending children, and tea sorting, are primarily for women. There are many blurred areas with overlapping assignments and other areas where one sex is favored but the other competes. For performing the same task, women usually earn less money than men. Over time, it appears that women have assumed many responsibilities and positions formerly enjoyed only by men.

511 592 462 the household are also important contributors to income by means of a rotating division of labor. One is responsible for the children and cleaning for five days; one is responsible for cooking and washing; and one is free to work in the fields. Every five days they switch jobs although all three prefer the relative freedom of the work in the fields. There are five other such rotating work teams in the village and many other pairs who share some rotating responsibilities.

511 Although the Liao Mou-tu family does not appear to have earned a meaningful surplus, the figures are deceiving for the family has invested very heavily in the orange trees (requiring much labor) which have not yet reached full production. Also, this past year, they jointly with Liao Mou-tu's brother, cleared and prepared land and planted 600 banana trees [454] although none have yet matured. The family will soon move into a much higher income bracket but has firm plans to continue investing any surplus in land and land development.

The above family might be contrasted with that of Liao Kao-mu who lives near the temple and represents the [592] middle status level in the village. His household includes his mother, wife, and two female children. He owns 511 463 465 .3 chia of mountain field on which he has planted oranges but which as yet have produced no return and he commutes 24 days per month to Taipei where he is employed as a

janitor and small repairman for a university building at $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home
511 463 are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is
465 a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 However, the family is deeply in debt because the
736 two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

462 day rarely varying. Each of the seven groups has a con-
476 stant nucleus although a number of other women attach
296 themselves to each group periodically. If a woman is ill for a couple of days or more, her washing responsibilities will be borne by a kinswoman in her household: if she is not in an extended family, by a fellow member of her regular wash group.

462 There are three groups of women who grade tea on a
476 piece-work basis. They work for any tea processor who
245 requires sorting as there is no necessary relationship between a particular processor and a particular work group. The goal is to sort the leaves (high grade) from the twigs, pieces, and stems (low grade) in a flat bamboo basket, six feet in diameter, which holds processed tea. Four to six women can sit around the basket and sort together while chatting but, of course, it is also
[465] possible to work alone. The work is easy and with a half-
[889] hour's instruction, anyone can earn $2.00 to $3.00 per hour on a piece-work basis. This activity is usually performed by old women and occasionally by very young girls. Three groups of old women constitute the regular work teams, sharing equally in the piece-work income although quite aware that some women work faster than others. They work out in the courtyard when the weather is nice and in anyone's house who has space when it is cold or wet.

There are two other important income-earning work activities usually performed only by women, tea picking

462 regular patterns. Some tasks such as grinding rice are
466 done jointly together while for other tasks, they alter-
nate, i.e., two women rotate care of both sets of children,
[546] preparing lunch, etc. Sometimes, a woman can get into the
fields to work for an afternoon or even a whole day or they
can take turns with time off to go to town and shop or take
[562] in a movie. Village women see movies more often than men,
usually in the afternoon. A new bride in the village soon
[561] has her own circle of friends among women who are in her
same age range.

Men's Work Groups

Men's work groups do not seem as structured as
[465] women's. As previously stated, the standard rate of pay
[243] for a day's labor for a man is $50.00 except there is an
addition of a five meal bonus when the work is trans-
planting or harvesting rice. There is no bargaining in
terms of ability or skill; instead, the better workers
obtain jobs more frequently.

There are many regular units which trade labor,
almost inevitably composed of relatives or sworn brothers.
It is easy to keep track of records because one day's
labor equals any other day's labor no matter what the
activity. Although a day planting rice may be considered
more difficult than a day spent weeding oranges, the five
meal bonus for the rice work makes the two activities
equal. There were 17 such work groups which had at least

653 concluded although the enormous post-war decrease in the
648 value of the Yen has made the savings minuscule.

653 The system of corvee labor has continued under the
651 Chinese Nationalists but is now considered to be much more equitable. Labor is still required but the load is light and accomplished only in the immediate area of Talei Li. Moreover, it is possible to buy your way out of the
[465] required labor. Since $10.00 is recognized as the equal of a full day's corvee labor while $50.00 constitutes a normal day's wages, the work can be seen to be considered very light. The rich tea owner and processor previously discussed does no corvee work but his $10.00 contributions are used for the material which might be required such as nails.

Nevertheless, it is desired that everyone possible work on corvee projects. Most villagers respond to the appeals which are made to civic pride and do participate. The work projects are treated almost as a game for no man
653 works very hard. Since a villager accumulates a day's
401 corvee labor credit for working on any project either for
651 a day or until it is completed whichever is less, most projects are overloaded with workers and each man contributes little labor. For example, a foot bridge was built across the creek when the water was quite high from the winter floods. The Li Chang (mayor) and I estimated that the bridge could have been completed in a single day by three or four men. However, twenty-six village men worked

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 793 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 [434] Most of the money young adults earn is turned over to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still [593] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's sixteenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military [561] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

902 boys are not expected to marry until after completing ser-
582 vice. This expectation has served to raise the average age
[465] of boys at marriage.

Marriage

584 Marriage has been discussed in Chapter V. To review briefly, there are a number of different ways to classify marriages. In terms of decision making, there are three types: 1) arranged, with parents fully in control of the decision; 2) veto, with parents making the initial arrangements but the bride and groom each possessing veto power; and 3) love, where everything is decided by the bride and
198 groom. Historically, changes have occurred from a majority
584 of arranged marriages to the veto type and more recently
581 to the love although all three types appear to have always been present in Chinese society. Currently, each constitutes about one third of the marriages in the village. There is some difficulty in obtaining accurate assessments of the frequency of each type because there is an attempt to disguise others as if they were the arranged form which carries the highest prestige.

584 In its ideal form, an arranged marriage is achieved through a process of negotiation between the two families through a matchmaker and the couple do not meet until the wedding day. Even at the engagement, the groom's mother goes to the bride's house and puts the engagement rings on the prospective bride's finger.